A REME-
DY FOR SEDI-
TION, VVHERIN
ARE CON-
TEYNED

many thynges, concernyng the true and loyall obeysance, that commēs owe vnto their prince and soueraygne lorde the kynge.

ANNO. M.D.XXXVI.



VHO SO EVER well considereth with hym selfe the hyghe commodyties, ꝑ come of good lawes, he wyl, I am right assured, thynke as diuine Plato thought, all those lawes that are made for the welthe and safegarde of mankynde, to be of god, all be it they be constituted by manne: on the other syde, he that wel pondereth the damages, that of necessitie must folowe, where eyther none be, that can rule, or fewe that wyll obeye, shall thynke as I doo, all realmes, regions, cities, and townes, that are not gouerned by lawes, to be forestes of wyld beastis, and not places habytable for men. We lacke noo good lawes, god be thãked: but what auayle they, whan as Diogenes sayth, men that are good, nede them lyttell, and they that be euylle, are neuer the better for them? Surely in tyme of sedition, lawes lese their voyces, or to say better, in suche ragious outcries of souldiours, noyse and brayeng of horses, clutterynge and ienglynge of harneys, men ware thicke of herynge. Justyce hydeth her face, whanne she seeth this to be alowed for a lawe, He that is the stronger, shall oppresse and spoylle the weaker, and no man saye he dothe euyll. Honestie canne not abyde, there where myght sytteth aboue right, where wyll is skyll, where treason standeth for reason. Whan euery man wyll rule, who shall obeye? Howe can there be any common welthe, where he that is welthyest, is mooste lyke to come to woo? Who can there be ryche, where he that is

ryches, is in moste daunger of pouertie? No no, take welth by the hande, and say farewell welthe, where luste is lyked, and lawe refused, where vp is sette downe, and downe sette vppe. An order, an order muste be hadde, and a waye founde, that they rule that beste can, they be ruled, that mooste it becommeth so to be. This agrement is not onely expedient, but also moste necessary in a common welthe, those that are of the worser sort, to be content, that the wyser reule and gouerne them, those that nature hath endewed with synguler vertues, and fortune without breache of lawe, set in hyghe dignitie, to suppose this done by the great prouydence of god, as a meane to engender loue and amitie, betwene the highe and the lowe, the small & the great, the one beynge so necessary for thothers safegarde welthe and quietnes. For as there must be some men of polycie and prudence, to discerne what is metest to be done in the gouerment of states, euen so there muste be other of strength and redynes, to do that the wyser shall thynke expedient, both for the mayntenaunce of them that gouerne, and for theschewyng of the infinite ioperdies, that a multitude not gouernd falleth into: These must not go, arme in arme, but the one before, the other behynde, wyt and prudence muste be as maysters of a worke, and appoynt strengthe and redynesse their taske. For vndoutedly, boldnes dothe neuer well, excepte it come, and do as reason commaundeth it to do. Sertorius that prudent Capitayne, shewed this by a prety exaumple, he had two souldiours

diours in his campe, thone lyttell, weake, and in maner of no strength, but very wyse: thother high, bygge, and ful of bones, but voyde of brayne. He had also two horses, thone galyarde, lusty, and of a thycke tayle, thother leane, lyttell, and almoste without a tayle. He appoynted the lyttell man, to pull of the great horse tayle, the bygge and sturdy souldiour to pull of those few heares, that the leane horse tayle hadde. The weake and feble man, vnto whom god and good education, had gyuen wyt in strengthes place, pulled by. iii. and by. v. heares at ones, and so within a shorte space, he had made of a longe tayle no tayle. Thother a good pomās body, tugged at the hole tayll, and sweatte faste, but he pulled of not a heare. Nowe, yf the ignorant souldiours, were here thus taught, a handful of witte to be moch more worth than a horselode of strength, and were contente in battayle, that they shulde rule: whiche were the wyser, they obey, that were the stronger, howe moche more ought we to be moued with this exāple, specyally in the gouernynge of a comon welth, in makyng lawes, in setlynge matters concernynge faythe and relygion, fynally in discussynge, what thynges maynteyne moste the fauour of god towarde vs, and by what meanes a realme may best be kepte in welthynes? We loue to be disceyued, we ymagyne a certayne common welthe in worde and in outwarde apparance, whiche if we baptyse righte, and not nycke name it, we must nedes cal a comon wo. We think it is very euyll, that soo many of vs be poore, we

thynke it were a good worlde, if we were all riche. I pray you for a reason let it be as we deſyre, let vs imagine, we be al ryche, doth it not ſtreight folow, I as good as he, why goeth he before, I behynde? I as ryche as he, what nedeth me to labour? The mayde as prowde as her dame, who mylketh the cowe? The fermour hauing no more cauſe to toyle then he that loketh for the rentes, who ſhal tyll the grounde? His meny ye ſay. How ſo? why they more then he, if they be ryche to? What were more to be wayled, then ſuche welth, that ſhuld bryng eyther euery man, or the mooſte parte of men, to extreme confuſion.

¶ The Romaynes after that they had wonne the citie of the Ueiens, were at great contention, the commons of Rome, and many alſo of the gentylle menne, thoughte it very expediente, and hyghely profytable, that halfe Rome ſhoulde goo dwelle there, alledgyng, that many in Rome lacked, and that this citie was ryche, and of great welthynelſe, gorgiouſly buylded, and alſo nigh vnto Rome, ſo that here many of them myght be enryched without any diſturbance of them, that had poſſeſſions in Rome, ye and myght alſo, bycauſe they were ſo nyghe, be at al aſſemblees, all parlyamentes, that ſhulde be kepte in Rome. Marke what folowed: The ſenatours in eſpecial thoſe that were wyſeſt, in no caſe wolde aſſent to this, noo they thought it moche better to abyde all perylle, then any ſuche matier ſhoulde paſſe theyr handes. In ſo moche, that whē this was had in deliberation, and hotely

diſpu-

disputed, the comons were so kendled agaynst the Senatours, that it was harde to kepe them from goynge togyther by the eares. But what is it that sage and graue persones can not perswade, if they be harde of them that vtterly lacke not discretion? A fewe of these ancient fathers and estemed senatours, here strayte bridled the rage of the people, and made them condescende vnto this, that all be it outwardely there semed gaynes in departynge, and losse in the abydynge at Rome, yet they shuld doo better to tary poore, than in goynge awaye to make them selfe ryche.

¶ A comon welthe is then welthy and worthy his name, when euery one is content with his degree, gladde to do that, that he may laufully doo, gladder to do that, whiche he seeth, shalbe for the quietnes of the realme, all be it his priuate profite bydeth hym doo the contrary. The shypman sayleth for other mens profyt, as moche as for his owne, but yet he sturreth the sterne, and turneth the sayle as hym lusteth, he casteth the shotte anker, when he wyll, and not when they bydde hym, that are in his shyp. The phisition is called to do more good to other, then to hym selfe, and in dede oftymes he saueth the sycke, and taketh the disease hym selfe, but yet he dieteth his pacient, not as the paciente desyreth, but some tyme kepethe hym from meate, when he is hungry, some tyme from drynke, when he is ful thursty, seldom geuynge hym that he calleth for. Gouernours in a common welthe, muste loke to the comons profyte, but they muste rule or

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elles howe can they gouerne? They muſt make lawes, and not ſuche as euery man wolle, neyther eſteme that to be profytable to a fewe, whiche bryngeth damage to the hole. They onely oughte to be offycers, that are knowen to be diſcrete, polytique, wyſe, and of ſuche ſtomake, that yf nede be, they can ſette lyttell the hatrede and malyce of theym, that ſeldome loue ſuche as are in greatteſt auctoritie, and not onely ſette lyttel by them, but alſo contemne their owne profyte, welthe, ye and lyfe to, ſooner than to ſeke prayſe at their tonges, that for the moſte parte, loue they wote not what, and hate they wote not why.

¶ Anthiſtenes ſeing the lyghtnes of the people of Athens came one day amonges theym, and gaue them counſayle, that they ſhulde plowe their lande aſwell with aſſes, as with horſes. They lawghed at hym and ſayd, Aſſes were nothyng fytte for the tillage of the erth. Than let me laugh to, ſayth he, at you, which woll haue them rulers in the cõmon welth, that ſo lytell can ſkyll of thaffaires therof.

¶ Demoſthenes, whan he was banyſſhed, by the conſent of the people of Athens, in his departure he turned towardes the citie, and made this exclamation, O Pallas, howe is it poſſible, that thou ſhouldeſt beare ſuche loue vnto theſe. iii. beaſtes, the nyght owle, the dragon, & the people? He was alſo wont to ſaye, If I had knowen the enuye, the feare, the falſe reportes, the iniuſt acculatiõs, that they muſt ſuſteyne, whiche gouerne, where credite is gyuen to the fals iugementes of people, if of. ii.

I muſt

I muste nedes haue done the one, I wolde sooner haue broken my necke, than haue had to doo in the common welthe of Athens.

¶ One tolde Antisthenes, The people speke moche good of you, why saythe he, what hurt haue I done? as who shuld saye, they seldome prayse, but such as do cuyl. I dare boldly affirme, ỹ there was neuer ethnicke more worthy lyke, than Socrates was, the people wolde nedes haue hym deed. Who knoweth not, that knoweth any thynge, howe moche Rome was bounde to Scipio? This worthye Capitayne, dyed out of his countrey, banyshed by them, whom he ofte had saued. I lette passe Phocion, Aristides, and many mo, whom all hystories bringe in, to shewe the lyghtnes and lewde iudgement of communes. Dante, that good Italyane poet sayth full truely of them, It is seldome sene, that the people crie not, *Viua la mia morte, muoia la mia vita*, That is, Let lyue my dethe, lette dye my lyfe, lette that go forthe, that bryngeth my distruction, lette that be banyshed, that is my welthe and safegarde. Geffrey Chauser sayeth also somewhat in theyr prayse, beare it well away and lawde theym as ye fynde cause,

O sterne people vniuste and vntrewe
Ay vndiscrete, and chaungynge as a fane
Delytynge euer in rumours that be newe:
For lyke the mone euer ware ye and wane
Your reason halteth, your iugement is lame
Your dome is false, your constance cuyll preuith
A full great foole is he that on you leueth.

What can be more against their profyte, than to obteyne that they moste desire? They be angry, that vertue shulde be rewarded, whan she cometh to men, that had no lordes to their fathers. They wyl that none rule, but noble men borne. Let them haue that they require, whome towcheth this soo sooze, as them selfe, and al their posterytie? What doo they leaue vnto theirs, whan they also take away the possibilitie of better fortune? I may saye trouth, and without blame, thanked be the knowlege of our mooste gratiouse soueraygne lorde the kynge, whiche hath euermore welle declared, that trewe nobilitie is neuer, but where vertue is: and hath euermore, frome the fyrste of his reygne hytherto, bothe by his owne great studye, to atteyne lernynge, wysedome, and other pryncely qualities, and also in gyuyng offices, dignities, and honour, well testified, that he woll all his subiectes to contende, who may obteyne mooste qualities, mooste wytte, moste vertue: and this onely to be the way to promotion, and here nobilitie to consyste. In all other thynges it lytell auayleth, whose sonne a mā be. At runnynge he hathe not the beste game, that leyeth for hym, My father ranne faster than any other dyd: nor he that taketh a fall at wrastlynge, hath that his father was wonte to haue, whan he gaue the fall. They muste nedes here, and almoste in all other thynges, contente them selfe, with that they be able to do, of what parentage so euer they be. There was one, whiche sayd, Princis and noble men, were moche more bounde to theyr horses, than

than to many of their frendes. A horse if the lorde ryde not well, layeth hym in the duste, and tellethe hym playnely, he muste lerne to ryde better, if he wyll take noo falle. All thynges telle trouthe but man. The bowe shooteth wyde, yf ye holde it not streyghte. The arrowe saythe, I muste nedes be shorte, excepte ye shote me hoome. I muste nedes be goone, yf ye shote me to farre. They canne not flatter, they can not saye, My lorde ye shote nygh, excepte ye shote nygh in dede. It is no great hurte to fayle here, it is smalle losse if a lorde shoote not well, or at the least the losse hurteth but hym selfe. But gyue the gouerment of commune wealthes, into theyr handes, that can not skyll therof, howe many must nedes go to wracke? The hurte towcheth to many, to be but smally regarded. Agayn, what desyre shall good wyttes haue, to employe them selfe to the knowlege of thynges, and to passe thother, whome slouthe woll not lette growe any higher, whē good & euyl be equally estemed: what shall we nede to endeuour our selfes vnto, whenne what so euer we do, we must be tryed by our byrth, and not by our qualities? That comon welthe can not longe stande, saythe Plato, that vertue is not moste honored in. Any Citie, saythe he, that wyll be longe saufe and in prosperitie, muste distribute these two thynges well, Honour & Shame. They be well distributed, when the chiefe and prime honour is geuen vnto qualites of the mynde, the seconde to the bodye, the thyrde to external thynges, as nobilitie, possessions, and ryches. If ye breake

this order, and put thone in thothers place, that is, if ryches be chiefly esteined, the body nexte, and vertue laste of all, here can be noo welthe. This cytie can not longe contynue, sayth Plato. Nowe, as there is a difference, in these thynges, so muste we put also, a difference in men that ar endewed with them. They must best be estemed, that haue mooste gyftes of the mynde, that is, they that do excell in wysedome, Justice, temperauncy, and suche other vertues: they nexte, that haue moste gyftes of the body, as helth, strength, quycknes, beautie: They thyrdly, that haue ryches and possessions, the lawes not withstandynge, hauynge euermore theyr full strength, that is no man presumynge, of what qualities so euer he be, to preferre hym selfe to any offyce or landes, but as the gouernours or lawes, shall call hym to. Justyce muste be in euerye acte. And therfore me thynke, Plato dydde wonderfull wel, to entitle his boke, that he writeth of a comon welth, *de iusto*, that is, of Justice: Euery man must be sure of his owne, and be cõtent that his neyghbour haue more than he, if that by honest wayes, he can atteyne vnto more. For welthe can not be, where rape is permytted, ne rape lacke, where order is broken. A comune welth is, as I thynke, no thynge elles but a certayne nombre of cities, townes, shires, that all agre, vpon one lawe, and one hed, vnyted and knytte together, by thobseruation of the lawes: these kept, they must nedes florishe, these broken, they muste nedes perisshe. The heed muste rule, if the body woll do well, and not euery

man

man make hym selfe ruler, where only one ought to be. Thynges be not doone in this worlde by chaunce, neyther ought to be gouerned by rashenesse. God maketh kynges, specyally where they reigne by succession. God toke awaye ꝑynce Arthure, & wold king Henry the eyght, to be our heed, and gouernour. Woll we be wyser than god? wol we take vpon vs, to know who ought to gouerne vs, better than god? God made hym kynge, and made also this lawe, Obey your kynge. Howe can ye obey hym, that refuse his lawes? that seke his dishonour? that hate theym, whom his grace can not chose but loue? whome also ye wolde loue, yf ye dyd not sooner vppon false reportes, than iuste cawse, hate. Who shall doo the kynge treiwe seruyce, who shall desyre, to stande moost in his fauour, if atte the malycious requestes of fonde and lyght people, his highnes shoulde without any other cause put downe them, whom his grace with the rest of his counsayle, thynke moste worthy fauour. we be but men, many of vs ignorant, many without knowlege, let vs thynke, that we knowe moch worse then god, who ought to be our gouernour. Let vs cõtent our selfes, that he rule, whom god made our kynge, whome god ꝑferred in takynge away Prince Arthure, his gracis elder brother. If we woll this to be our ꝑince, heed, & gouernour, than we must also lette his grace gouern vs, by suche officers, as he shall knowe to be beste for vs, and not we to appoynte hym, suche as we shall thynke meteste, that seldome eyther see, what

is good for vs, or who most entendeth our profite. ¶ A comune welthe is lyke a body, and soo lyke, that it can be resembled to nothyng so conuenient, as vnto that. Nowe, were it not by your faythe a madde herynge, if the fote shuld say, I wyl weare a cappe, with an ouche, as the heade dothe! If the knees shulde say, we woll carie the eyes, an other whyle: if the shulders shulde clayme eche of them an eare: if the heles wold nowe go before, and the toes behind? This were vndoubted a mad heryng: euery man wold say, the fete, the knees, the shoulders, the heles make vnlaufull requestes, and very madde petitions. But if it were so in dede, if the fote had a cap, the knees eies, the shulders eares, what a monsterous body shuld this be? God send them suche a one, that shall at any tyme go about to make as euil a comune welth, as this is a body. It is not mete, euery man to do, that he thynketh best. The Locrians had a very good custome amonges them, no man might there, come to speke agaynste a law, that was constituted by suche, as had auctorite to make it, except he came to the disputation therof, with a corde about his necke. If he proued the lawe to be naughte, then he caste of the corde, and was highly commended: but yf he dyd attempte it, and after fayled of his pourpose, he was forthwith truste vppe. They thought hym worthy to dye, that dyd but speake ageynst a lawe: albeit he also thoughte therby, to doo good vnto his countrey, in speakynge agaynste that, that he iudged moche hurtefull to the comune welth.

Plato

¶Plato gyueth lesse lybertie to his cytezens, he wyll no man shall dispute any lawe, in the prelence of youthe, or comon people, that hath lytel iudgement in suche thynges. It is noo parte of the peoples play, to discusse actes made in the parliamēt. Euery man dothe well in his office, euery thynge standeth well in his place. Socrates fyndeth this to be the only welth of all realmes, that euery man setle hym selfe to his owne affayres and busines, and intermedle with no other mannes office. The handes are content the fete go, the tethe pleased, that the tongue tell the hole tale: the eare doth not desire to see, nor the eie to here: a payre of shoes of viii.d. dothe better seruice to the fete, than a cappe of.v.s. though ye put theron a fether of forty pēce: a payre of gloues of lamme skynne, dothe moche better fytte the handes, than a payre of breches of right satyn: a frese cote dothe better on his backe, that hath to do at the carte, or at the plowe, than a gowne of veluet, furred with sables. To my purpose, Lordes must be lordes, comunes must be comunes, euery man acceptynge his degree, euery man contente to haue that, that he lawfully maye come by. We must, if we pourpose euer to come to welthe, whiche we ofte lese in wronge sekynge for it, all agree, that the lawes haue their place. It is but an easy remedy, that maketh the fyre greatter. He knoweth not the way to quenche fyre, that powreth oyle into it. These is no medicine to driue awaye rattes: neyther sedytion a meane to make men welthy. What ende of mysterie shall there be,

where

where no man wereth ryche, but a nother is made a begger? where no man is mery, but. ii. or. iii. be sadde for it? what ende of robbynge and spoylynge shall there be, if the poore maye euermore rob the riche? If the stronger may pulle from the weaker? Must not you abyde the same lawe, that you make your selfe? must not you, whan you haue spoyled them that are ryche, and so made your selfes welthy, suffre that they now being poore, spoyle you riche? And than must not ye be poore ageyne? O lyghtnes of comunes, who can say so moche ageynst the, but he may seme to haue sayd nothing! I am ashamed to reherce the blynde folye, that the comunes of Englande haue so ofte runne into? There can come no traytour, no rebell, of so base condicion, of so lyttell witte, but if he be bolde inoughe to take vppon hym, to be their capitayne, they are foolyshe ynoughe to folowe hym. Howe ofte, and whom I praye you, and for what causes haue they made their capitaynes? whom can they refuse, whan smythes, coblers, tylers, catters, and such other gay grekes, seme worthy to be they? gouernours? who wyl not be ashamed to see our cronycles in straungers handes, they to se suche outragious madnes reigne in vs, we to rede such temperancy, ciuilitie, and obedience to be amonges them? I wyll not compare vs to the best gouerned countreys, that be, I wyll goo to the Barberouse nations that be, and see howe our shame encreaseth they? honestie, and good orders, layde before our faces.

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¶Is there any nation, that hath ben more enfamed of barbarous conditions than the Scythes? any of lesse ciuilitie than these? yet they haue ben euer so true to their princis, that there be fewe nations, that haue obteyned higher fame by batayle, than they haue. Their concorde and vnytie, their faythfulnes toward their kynges, made them, that they were neuer ouercome. They draue Darius, that redoubted kyng of the Persians, to shamefull flyght: They kylled Cyrus and all his hoste. Alexander magnus loste bothe a good capitayne at their handes, and all the armye, that he sente ageynste them. They harde of the Romaynes valyantnes, but the Romaynes neuer durst sette vpon them. what reuerence bare they to their kyng? whan suche as were any thyng familiar with him, were wont at his deathe to cutte of their eares, to mangle their noses and faces, and many of theym to dye with hym. They thought trewe obeysaunce coulde not be shewed, neither the loyal hartis knowen, but at deth. Amonges these, the greatest othe that they coude swere by, was by the kynges seate, he that forswore hym selfe by this, was streyghte whypped to deathe.

¶Who wylle not meruayle, to see the Aethyops, men that neuer harde of goddis lawe, doo as they were wonte to do? there was no hangeman, none to cut of theyr hedes, that deserued deth. Se theyr obedience, laye it with ours, if god were no god, if honestly had neuer ben harde of, myght not shame bryng men from rebellion? Se theyr obedience.

¶ The

The kynge, when he harde of any that was wor-thy dethe, was wont to sende one of his seruantes with a token, whiche dyd no more, but telle hym, the kynges pleasure is, you dye. This manne, of what so euer estate he was, without any furder de-lay, went into some secrete corner, and there found one waye or other to doo the kynges commaunde-ment. They had their prynce in suche honour, that if he by any mysfortune loste an eye, or by some fal broke a legge, al his householde seruantis by their owne accord didde depriue them selfes of that part of theyr bodye, in whiche fortune hadde offended theyr kynge: thynkynge it moche vnsemely, that they shulde not halte, whan their kynge halted, moche vnmete, that they shuld not be content with one eye, whan theyr kynge hadde but one. They thought it a gret shame, if they bare hym not com-pany whan he dyed. They toke it for a hyghe ho-nour, to haue so glorious an ende, as to departe in the felowshyp of a kynge.

¶ The Persians thought hym worthy great pu-nyshement, that dyd but nease, spyt, wype his nose, or coughe in a kynges presence: and are nat they wery of theyr lyues, that amonges christen menne tyse agaynste theyr prynce? Shal these capitaynes be suffred to lyue, that at any tyme shall styre the people to suche outragious ryotte? Is it possy-ble that the people pull them nat a peces, and soo shewe both to god and theyr prynce, that they now knowe the greatnes of suche an errour, and that they muste nedes hate hym, that brought them in-

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to it? God hath euermore well testified, that he fauoreth no traytours, no rebelles. Theyr ende (excepte all histories fayle) can be no better then their intentes. May not the rayne, that god sent to part vs, and kepe vs from bloodshedynge, well shewe, that goddis pleasure is, we fyght not amonge our selues, that god loueth our prince, alloweth his lawes, and wyll that we be subiecte to theym bothe: God wylle not the bondes of nature to be broken, the charitie and loue that shoulde be betwene all men, moche rather betwene theym that are of one countrey, one shire, one citie, one howse, one parentage. Nature is forgotten, god is not harde, al humanitie is troden vnder the foote, where as is ciuile dissention. Nature teacheth brute beastis, to loue them that gaue them life, that norished them. God saythe, Honour thy father and mother, Loue thy neyghbour as thy selfe. Thus he sayth, but he is nothynge harde, where as sedition is. For what sacryfice can the father offre to god and his countrey, more acceptable, than to kylle with his owne hãdes his sonne, now no lenger his sonne, being a traytour? what act can be more worthy prayse, thã the son to slee his owne father in suche case? He is none of myne saythe Christe, nor worthy to be my seruaunt, that can not, if iuste cawse require hym so to do, forsake his father & mother to do me seruyce. He is none of myne saythe Englande, that canne not hate his father and mother, that canne not kyll them bothe, sooner than ones consente to my destruction.

¶Damatria a woman of Lacedemon, after she harde say, that her son had not so fought ageynst the ennemies of his countrey, as it beseemed one borne in Lacedemon, she streyghte vppon his retourne from the warres, slewe hym with her owne handis, right glad, that she had shewed her self sorye, to haue ben the mother of suche a son. What wolde she haue done? what deathe wolde she haue thought to shamful for him, if he had risen ageinst his prynce? if he had shewed hym selfe open ennemye to his countrey? if he hadde intended to pulle downe the lawes of the Lacedemoniens?

¶There be fewe or none that haue red any hystoryes, but they knowe, what Brutus iudged his sonnes worthy to suffre, which by letters intended to call in Tarquinius againe. Theyr letters went not further, they weere intercepted, yet the father gaue sentence agaynste his sonnes, and commanded them to be tyed at a stake, there to be whypte, and after to lose theyr heedes.

¶It is more notable that Titus Manlius dyd, and moch more perteynynge vnto vs, which so oft haue broken our loyall obeysaunce towardes our prince. This Titus bad, ỳ none of his souldiours shuld fyght, but whan he cõmanded them. Genutius Metius, oone of his ennemyes, pycketh out from his company, a chalengeth Manlius sonne. The commaundement of his father was, that he shulde not fyght: but he beinge the consuls sonne, a romayne, thought his honour loste, if he shulde not fyght. Youth, courage, nobilite, the renoume

of

of his father, the fame of his countrey, wolde not lette hym ſuffre his enneinye to make this vaunt, that he hadde chalenged a conſuls ſonne of Rome, and that he durſte not fyghte with hym. Wherfore Manlius cometh forth, they cũne togyther: within ſhorte ſpace Genutius Metius had thende, that crakers are wont to come to. Manlius ſlewe hym, and was hyghely commended of all his fathers ſowldiours for it. But the Conſule, whanne he ſawe, that his ſonne hadde broke his commaunment, and hadde fought, where he badde, he ſhuld nat ſo do, Sonne ſayth he, ſeing that aſmoche as in the lyeth, thou haſte broke thorder that is to be kept in warre, by the whiche Rome hytherto, hath euermore ben aduaunced to great honour, and for as moch as thou haſt brought me into this choiſe, that I muſt eyther forgette the common welthe, or els depriue my ſelfe of that I toke priuately moſte pleaſure in, ſorye I am to doo it, but yet lette vs, that haue deſerued punyſſhement, be punyſſhed. I wyll by this exaumple, that the comune welthe take no hurte. I wyll thy death teche all other our cittzens, that the Conſules of Rome wyll be obeyed. Go hangeman go, tye hym to a ſtake, whyppe hym, heed hym, handle hym, as it becometh them to be, whiche by euyl example hurte the diſciplins & obeyſance of ſouldiours. ¶ What wold Manlius haue done, if a ſoudiour had taken vpon him, to haue corrected any decree of the ſenate? any plebiſcite? any lawe? what if he had ryſen agaynſt the ſenate? Ye may wel iudge, that he ẏ kylled his ſon

for such a cryme, wherin also many excuses might haue be founde, wolde not a made to moche of a souldiour, that shulde haue bene a traytour, that shulde for small cause haue rebelled. what can we lay for our defence? we euermore crie we be poore. I admytte it be so, is sedytion lawfully defended, where men lay pouertie for their excuse? shal they, that be not ryche, by and by say, they wyll no more be ruled by their prince, by his coũsaylours, by his lawes? God sende vs more grace, for lesse wytte we can not haue. There is a way to ryches moche better, than in sekynge goodes to lese al goodnes. Moche nygher, than in sekynge riches, to defye al regarde of honestie. There be handy craftes, there be honest occupations, whereby pouertie maye be dryuen away.

¶ It was a wonderfull good lawe that Amazis kynge of Aegypte made, by the whiche euery man was cõmaunded yerely, to put his name in the comen boke, and at the yeres ende to shewe the gouernour of the place, where his abiding was, by what meanes he gote his lyuinge. Thus bothe ydlenes was banished, and none or fewe put to iniury, but the cuyll doer was knowen and punyshed. Euery man had a crafte, they moste esteemed, that were found moste profitable to the comune welthe. The Athenies had the same law, they thought it a gret shame, menne to be of lesse polycye, then beese are, whiche suffre none to tary amonges them, in their hyues, but suche as bryngе ynough with them for their comens. They wyll no dryane bees amonges

theyn

the. Socrates alluding hither, sayth, there be two sortes of vnprofytable bees in a comune welthe, thone without stynges, thother with stinges. Unto the fyrste sorte he lykeneth poore olde men, that can not labour, by reason of theyr age, feblenes, or some other iust impediment. Unto thother he lykeneth these that be yonge and lustye, and neyther haue, nor yet wyll lerne any honest occupation, to get heyr lyuynge in trouthe, but contynewynge in ydlenes, fall to stealynge, robbynge, murther, and many other myschiefes.

¶ Aesculapius that famous physition, wolde bestowe no medicines on them, that he thoughte vncurable, sayenge it to be moche ageyne a common welthe, to kepe them alyue, that can doo nothyng, but be sycke and combre the hole, and consume the vyttaile of theym that labour. Socrates moche commendeth hym for it. This I do not brynge in, bycause I wolde any man shuld lacke cherishing, when he is sycke, thoughe there be no hope of his recouerie: but that I wolde well shewe, howe all good ordred comune welthes, in tyme past abhorred these belyes, that haue no handes: these flyes, that fede vpon other mens labours: these that beinge ydle, without any occupation, without landes, fees, wages, doo nothynge but complayne of fortune, complayne of theym that be gouernours of the realme: And thus eyther sow sedition amõges the people, or els be the feldes them selfe apt to brynge forth such fruites, These be they, that with their venomous tongue, stynge and poysone the

fame

fame of them that are ſet in office, to ſee that they do leſſe myſchiefe, then they wolde doo. They can not without feare of their lyues, do as they moſte deſire, excepte ſuche gouernours be putte downe. There was neuer ruler ſoo good, but the better he was, the moze they that be ſette on riotte, robbery, murder, and rebellion, hate hym. Many a ſhame-full ſeditions haue ben in Englande, they haue all ben ſooze punyſhed: this remedy helpeth but foz a ſeaſon.

Lucius Cinna, a noble man of Rome, conſpi-red, and vtterly entended the deathe of Auguſtus theperour. Ceſar had ſure knowlege, bothe where, when, and after what facion he purpoſed to bzyng his treſon to paſſe. His intent was open, yet Ceſar long douted, what was beſt to be done. He thought to banyſſhe hym, he thoughte to doo nowe this, now that. As he thus toke deliberation, Liuia his wyfe came in, and after ſhe had perceiued the mat-tier, ſayd thus vnto him: Sir, do as phiſitions do, whiche whan they ſee, that their accuſtomed medi-cines wyll not ſerue, they pzoue the contraryes. By punyſhment ye haue hitherto done lytel oz no-thynge, fozgeue a nother whyle, and ſee what cle-mency may do. Cinna canne not nowe hurte your lyfe, he may ſet fozth moche your honour. Them-perour thynkynge her counſayle not the wozſt, by and by ſente foz Cinna to come ſpeake with hym. As ſoone as Cinna was come, Themperour cau-ſed a chayze to be ſet foz hym. Than thus he began to reaſon the mattier with Cinna. This one thing

say the themperour, I muste require of you, that you do not interrupte my communication, ye shall haue tyme, when I haue sayde my mynde, to saye what ye wyll. Here he began to rehearse his benefittes towarde Cinna. First that he had perdoned hym his lyfe, whan that he founde hym in his enemies tentis, and that he dyd restore him to his hole patrimony, that he had also gyuen hym great authoritie, many offices. If ye graūt all this, sayth Cesar, to be true, nowe I praye you tell me, what cause I haue gyuen you, to desire my dethe? ye to go about your selfe to kylle me? Cinna here began to chaunge colour, to be troubled in coūtenaunce, he wolde haue layde somwhat for his defence. Augustus made an ende of his expostulation, & sayde thus, Cinna, I gyue the ones ageyne thy lyfe: before I gaue the it, beinge myn ennemie, I giue it nowe to the, beinge a traytour, and a patricide. From this day forthwarde, lette frendeshyp begin betwene vs, lette vs two contende, whyther thou mayste shewe me more pleasure, for perdonynge the thy lyfe, or I more gladde, that I saued the. And thus by and by Cesar began with hym, and made hym consul. Cinna was from that daye forwarde, as true a frende vnto Cesar, as one man myght be vnto an other, in so moche that he made Cinna his heyre.

¶ The kinge our moste gracyous soueraine lorde myghte commemorate his benefyttes towarde all his subiectes. I wolde doo it for hym, but that I knowe I am farre vnmete, to take vppon me the

handelynge of soo weighty a mattier. His grace woll, I doubt not, folowe the clemency of Augustus. He seeth, his noble progenytours haue ofte punished rebelles, and done no more, but cut awey the branches of sedicion, for their tyme. His highnes intendeth to pull aweye the roote. He seeth, it is not possible to cure this sore, which in dede Plato calleth the greattest syckenes, that can come to a comune welthe, excepte he serche out, bothe where it ariseth, and what thing moste nourisheth it, and then do as phisicions are wont, whiche oft tymes laye not their medicines to the parte, that is diseased, but to that rather, from whens the disease first came, and is like to come stylle, onelesse it be there stopped. As for exaumple, when the eies be sore, first they seke, whether the disease grow in the eies, or is sent from some other place nighe the eies, as from the heed, or els some other place further of, as the stomake. If it be not in the eies principally, but cometh either from the heed, or from the stomacke, they begynne not at the eies, but firste pourge the stomacke, and so the roote cutte awaye, the disease nowe no more mayntayned, can in no wyse longe tary behynde. It is very true, that Zamolsis, king of Thrace was wonte to saye. Loke, sayth he, as the eies can not be cleansed, excepte ye fyrste cleanse the heed, neyther the heed, without ye pourge the hole body, euen so, neither the bodye, without the mynde be firste netted. This kynge sawe it lyttell auayled, to tydde the body of noughty humours, onelesse also a man so brydell his appetyte, that after

terwarde he can forbeare suche thinges, as dydde hurte hym before, and wyll do ageyne, excepte he moderate his affectiõs. The bote man I thinke, lacketh moche wyt, and loseth moche labour, that standeth all daye with a dish ladinge out water, that nedes muste come in agayne, oncles the bote be amended. The faut is in the breache of the bote, and not in the water. Surely, if it were any thing lyke to be brought to passe, it shulde be moche better to fynde a waye, that none might haue wylle to rebell, then to trusse vp rebellious people. Wolde god some high wytte, some man borne to do suche good for his countrey, coulde aswel bryng this to passe, as I thinke it myght nowe very lyghtly be done. For if euer the cause of rebellion may vtterly be taken awaye, we haue a prynce, god wyll we maye haue his grace longe, we haue a prynce, that sayth, the tyme is now. All men ought to endeuour them selfe, here to occupie theyr wyttes, that suche a thynge myght take effecte. I for my parte, wylle do what I can, which I know is very lyttell, how be it if I do it not so well as my desyre is, I truste good intent shall soo make myne excuse, that loue of my countrey shall not moche hurte me.

¶ Some say pouertie is the cause, that men come to be thenes, murderers, rebelles. But I thynke, nothynge so. For I knowe dyuers realmes, where pouertie raygneth moche more than in Englande, yet rebels there be none. The rote is lower, dygge deper, ye maye perchaunce fynde it. Education, euyll education, is a greatte cause of these and all

other myscheses, that growe in a comune welthe. For where so many lacke honest occupatiõs, wherby al men, that can not otherwise lyue by their landes, ought to mayntayne them selues, howe cannie we lacke any kynd of mischief? No man is borne a craftis mã, youth must be beter brought vp, or euer the olde lyue welthely. The lacke, the lacke of honest craftes, and the habundauncie of ydlenes, all be it they be not the hole cause of sedicyon, yet as they brede theues, murderers, and beggers, so not a lytle they prouoke men, or thynges lyke men to rebellion. There is a parte in man, whiche is named the mynde, that is of this nature, yf it be galyarde and lusty, either to do moche good, or cõtrary to do moche hurt. If this lacke good institutiõ, if this be not handeled and ordered as it shulde be, men maye lacke sedition, but they can not lacke a thynge within them to stryre them to sedition. This must be so taught, that there be no rebellion within our selfes, we muste conquere our lustes, and compell the appetites, to obeye all suche statutes, as reason and honestie shall thynke worthye to be enacted. Euery man, some wyll say, can not clyme to suche perfection, Euery man can not be kept at schole. I graunt, But yet I thynke, al ỹ lordes sonnes, and also the better parte of gentlemen, myght be as well brought vp, as it is necessary they be, if they had suche teachers, as oughte to instructe the nobles of a realme. These wel brought vp, I wold nothynge doubte, but eyther we shulde be welthier than we be, or els moche better content with that, that

that god shoulde sende vs, all be it we had moche lesse then nowe we haue. I longe haue supposed, that as the bryngyng vp of ỹ nobles, is the saulfegarde of a comune welthe, so theyr euill education is the ruyne therof. For as noble men be, so theyr seruantes are. The mayster gyuen to ryot, the seruaunt must nedes thynke, that there is no thryuyng for hym, excepte he shewe hym selfe a ruffler. So that though the seruaunt be good of hym selfe, yet to wynne the fauour of his mayster, he muste counterfaite their condicions, that his maister most lyketh. Thus in vsynge theym a moneth or two, he maketh theym his owne. He nowe dissembleth no lenger, he is as they be, whom he hath longe followed. I must nedes saye more, if the nobles be euyl taught in poyntes concernyng religion, as if they be poppishe, to put one exaumple for many, Howe can theyr seruauntes chose, but be so to? Howe can theyr tenantes, whiche muste haue theyr lordes fauour, be of a nother religion, then theyr lorde is? Howe can they agre with their neighbours, if they bothe be not of one faythe and one beleue? The kynges grace shall neuer haue true subiectes, that do not beleue as his grace doth. For howe can they loue hym, as they shulde do, whiche beynge in errours them selfe, in darkenes and ignorancy, suppose his grace to be in a wronge faythe, and soo to seduce them, whiche entendeth nothynge so ernestly, as the sauyng of their sowles? Howe can these obey his highnes, as it behoueth them to do, whan they thynke in obeyenge his commaundementes,

they disobey goddis. This forayne heed, that is in Rome, ꝑ body being in England, hath brought the sely braynes of many a poore manne, into depe errours. Alas what greatter ignorauncye can there be, then to take hym for hede, that neuer was with the body, hym for the heed, that hitherto hath done nothynge, but consumed the membres? The kyng is our heed, though poppishe say nay, yet lette vs beleue the prophete Samuel, Lo sayethe he vnto kynge Saul, God hathe anoynted the, and made the prince of all his inheritance. I pray you, think you that prestes, monkes, frers, and bishops, be not a parte of goddis inheritaunce? Hath god no tytle, no right vnto them? If god haue, the kynge also, whom god hath made his holle heyre, muste nedes haue. He is theyr prynce, and yet not heade, some say. Samuell is a prophete, he sayth yes, he

1.Reg.10. sayethe vnto Saule, Nonne cum paruulus esses in oculis tuis, caput in tribubus factus es? He that sayth in the Tribes, I pray you doth he not meane in all the Tribes? He that is mayre of London, is

1.Reg.15. he not mayre of all London? Yet there is, Pasce oues. sayde to Peter, and not to the kynge. Woo they save, that alledgeth, but that that maketh for them. But you se, that god sayd to kynge Dauid,

2.Reg.5. Tu pasces populum meum, Thou shalt fede my people, and thou shalt be theyr guyde. I shal speke of this matyer perchaunce a nother tyme, at more leysure, And in place more conuenyente. Nowe I wyll not go from my purpose. We muste agree in

religion

in religion, we muſt ſerue but one mayſter, one body wyll haue but one heed. It is not poſſible men to agree longe, that diſſent in relygion. No more than it is poſſyble, chriſten men to agree with turkes. Howe be it, who wyll not thynke it moch better, to diſſent, then that we all agree, vpon pernycious errours? whiche haue noo defence but this onely, that they haue reygned long, and that men hath long ben ſubiecte to them? The nobles muſte be of one beleue, of one fayth, of one religion, they muſt all agre vpon one heed. The gentylmen wyll folowe, the comunes can not tary longe behynde. And where I ſayde before, youthe muſte be welle brought vp, ſpecially in opinions of religion, here I ſay, the olde muſte beggynne. It is harde for the ſonne to be agaynſt his father, in matters of faith. No, we ſe this thynge onely to be a defence for all argumentes: I beleue as my father did before me. Undoubtedly, if the child lerne one thyng at ſcole, or of the preacher, and here his father at home, not onely ſaye, but ſee hym alſo doo the contrary, wordes are forgotten, dayly exaumple worketh faſte, ſpecially when it is euylle. Clitipho ſaythe, as all ponge menne wylle ſaye, My father byddeth me lerne of other honeſt me, what becometh me to do, he commaundeth me to folowe them, but when he hath well dronke, what thankfull actes dothe he tel of hym ſelfe? when he ſayth, he hath doone thus, Can I thynke vppon that he byddeth me do? and not ſooner do as he hath done? No no he telleth a tale, to one that hath no eares, that commaundeth

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the ponge to do well, when they see the aged do euyll. I haue ofte meruailed, to see the diligencye, that the Jewes vse in bringynge vp their youthe, and bene moche asshamed to see howe negligente christen men are in soo godly a thynge. There is neyther man, woman, nor chyld of any lauful age, but he for the mooste parte knowethe the lawes of Moyses: and with vs he is almost a good curate, that knoweth. vi. or. vii. of the. x. commandementes: amonges the Jewes, there is not one, but he can by some honeste occupation, gette his lyuyng. There be fewe idell, none at al, but such as be riche ynough, and may lyue without labour. There is not one begger amonges thē. All the cities of Italy, many places in Cecilia, many bourges in Germany, haue a great nombre of Jewes in them. I haue ben longe amonges them, that are in Italy, I neuer harde of a Jewe, that was a theefe, neuer that was a murderer. No I neuer hard of a fraye betwene them. I am asshamed to saye as I nedes muste saye, They maye well thynke their religion better than ours, if religiō be tried by mens lyues. Nowe if Moyses lawe lerned in youthe, and but carnally vnderstande, can so steye them, that fewe or none fall into other vice, than vsury, whiche also they do thynke permytted by Moyses lawe, so ỹ they vse it not one iewe to an other, as in dede they do not, but a Jewe to a straunger. Might not we lerne so moche of Christis lawe, as were able to kepe vs from rebellion? Maye not poore mennes chyldren come to the sermons? maye they not here

prea-

chers? can they here goddis lawes, ye though they be but easily preached, and not abhorre sedycyon and rebellion? who harde euer, that the Turkes rose against their prince? it is, it is vndoubted, one sorte of relygion, though also it be not ryght, that kepeth men in concorde and vnytie. Turkes goo not agayne turkes, nor Jewes agaynste Jewes, because they bothe agree in theyr faythe. Christen men do so varye, Englande is so deuyded, that I wonder rather that sedicion sprange vp no sooner, than that nowe men begyn to rebell. Englande is lyttell bounde vnto them, that at the fyrst deuyded it so madly. This North and south, east and west, is a good partition of the hole worlde, it were wel in Englande, if we were all called Englyshemen, of this countrey, or that, as of Yorke, of London, and suche other: and not these northern men, these southerne, these western. The very name maketh fooles out with theym, that they neuer sawe. The northorn can not but beare haulfe a grudge to the southern, ye for no nother cause, then that they be thus called. In Italie, Fraunce, Spayne, Germany, there is both north and southe, est and west, yet they iudge nothynge by these, but the wynde. In Orford I know the name of the northorn and southorne proctour, hath ben the cause, that many men haue ben slayne. They that shulde rule thother, are out or euer they entre into their office. We can not get out of Paules churche, but we muste passe by the northorn dore, or by the southern. Christen men are to sore diuided. The fryers of sayut

fraunces ſkace loue the dompnycans, the Jacobites loue not the Bugetines, or if they doo loue, they wolde loue moche better, if they were al of one ſort. I do knowe, good men, of what order ſo euer they be, they wyll do well. But the euyll be mo in nombre, they bere the ſwynge: thother be ſo fewe that ſkace they be ſene in the chapiter howſe. It is only Chriſtis religion, that can make Chriſtē men one of vs loue an other, as we ſhulde do. The preceptes of philoſophie, and good education, coude make many of the Grecians, mo of the Romans, not only to forſake riches, to banyſhe pleaſures, & to put them ſelfes in a thouſande perilles: but alſo to dye for their coūtrey. And can not the knowlege of the worde of god, the ſwete adhortations, the hyghe and aſſured promyſes that god maketh vnto vs, kepe chriſten men from contempning the iudgemente and lawes of god, frome vndoinge their coūtrey, from fyghtyng againſt their prince? If we were any thing wel inſtructed in the ioyes, that are prepared for them, that obey god and their prynce, in the ioyes that neyther mans eloquence can expreſſe, neyther harte fele, nor thought compaſſe: who wyll thinke, that ſoo many of theym coude ſo frankely offre vp their liues, and that we ſhall not abhorre, ſuche as eyther wyll dye theym ſelfe, or bringe their countreye to ruine?

¶ who can prayſe Themiſtocles ſoo well, but he maye ſeme to haue lefte out a greatte parte of his prayſe? who dyd more for his countreye then he? who coude be worſe rewarded then he was? that

was

was not only banyshed his countrey, but also dri-
uen to seke succour at Xerres hande, whom he had
not longe before dis honored in batayle: who had
a greatter cause to fall out with his countrey than
he? who more commoditie to haue reuenged suche
ingratitude? But se what good education can do.
He what is to be loked for of them, in whose bre-
stis vertue and desyre of honeste fame lodgeth.
Xerres interteyned hym highely, and shewed him
all the fauour, that a myghtie prynce could shewe
vnto one, whom he best loued. He gaue hym great
possessions, in soo moche that Themistocles was
wonte to saye, I had ben vndone, except the Athe-
nias had vndone me. Yet al this being thus, when
Xerres wold haue sent hym agaynst his countrey,
with an hoste of men, he forgot all theyr vnkynde-
nes, he forgot they had exyled him, and put him in
ieoperdy of his lyfe, and thought it moche better
to slee hym selfe, than to be a capitayne agaynste
his countrey. And thus at the laste beinge wered
with ofte callynge on of the kynge, and seynge no
remedy, but eyther to kyll hym selfe, or to fyght a-
gainst his countrey: he chose of two the lesse hurt,
and with a drafte of Bulles bloudde finyshed his
life. I wyll not speake of Thrasibulus, Codrus,
Ancurus, Decii, and manye other, whiche all
thought the welthe of theyr countrey, to be prefer-
red to their lyues. I can not thinke, but if Christis
lawes were well preached, (they be well preached,
whan the preacher sayth as the gospel is, and doth
as the gospell saith) I can not thinke, but if Chri-

ſtis promyſes were ſurely prynted in our hartes, that we ſhulde be, and that a great ſorte, to teſtifie the worde of god, to be of moche more puiſſaunce, then vaine fame. Goddis worde is potente, and to ſaye as I thynke, almoſt omnipotent, if it be well handeled, and of ſuche as it ſhulde be. It is moch that good men maye do. In Florence, the people were ſet parte agaynſte parte, as we were lately here in Englande. The ſyde that hadde the better hande, came to ſet a fyre the palaice of their aduerſaries Capitayne, called Pagolantonio Soderini. As chaunce was, this capitaynes brother, the byſhop of Volterra, was than in his howſe, whiche as ſoone as he harde theyr noyſe, and perceyued where about they wente, caſt on his white rochet, and ſo came downe amonges them, he ſpake but few wordes, but by and by al that were in that rout, caſte awaye theyr fyer brondes. There was none ſo lewde, that coulde in ſo honeſte a prelates preſence do any hurte. This Machiauellus wryteth, as a thynge wonderfull, howbe it, if people were as obedient as they ought to be, and byſhops in ſuche reuerence as they haue ben in tymes paſt, for their good lyfe and lernynge, this wolde be no wonder. who was leſſe beloued in the northe, than my lorde Cardynall, god haue his ſowle, before he was amonges them? Who better beloued, after he had ben there a whyle? we hate oft tymes, whom we haue good cauſe to loue. It is a wonder, to ſee howe they were turned, howe of vtter enemyes, they became his dere frendes. He gaue byſhops a

right

right good ensample, howe they myght wyn mens hartis. There was fewe holy dayes, but he wolde ride. v. or. vi. myle from his howse, nowe to this paryshe churche, nowe to that, and there cause one or other of his doctours, to make a sermone vnto the people. He sat amonges them, and sayd masse before al the paryshe. He sawe why churches were made. He began to restore them to their right and proper vse. If our byshops had done so, we shuld haue sene that preachyng of the gospell, is not the cause of sedition, but rather lacke of preachyng of it. He broughte his dinner with hym, and bad dyuers of the parish to it. He enquired whether there was any debate or grudge betwene any of theym, yf there were, after dinner he sente for the parties to the church, and made them at one. Men say wel that do wel. Goddis lawes shal neuer be so set by, as they ought, before they be well knowen. Howe shall poore men knowe them, excepte they be syncerely preached? We must fyrst lerne to kepe goddis lawes, or euer we ernestly passe of the kynges statutes. All be it he that kepeth thone, wylle also kepe thother. He that can fynde a better way, to auoyde sedition, than fyrste to bryng in the worde of god, which our most lerned kyng, and true lieutenant of god in this realme of England, hath holly intended this many yeres, Secondarily the mynd welle pourged, that is restored into the good and pure nature, that fyrst god made it in, to purge as Zamolsis thought best the body. He that can fynd a better way, shall do right wel to shew it, I fynde

none. When after that the mynde is wel instructed, must se, that the body haue also a way to mainteyn it self. Euery mã must haue an honest occupation, wherby in trouth he may get his lyuyng, without doinge inury to his neyghbour. Idelnes ydelnes must be banysshed. It can not be chosen, but men wylle steale, thoughe they be hanged, excepte they may lyue without stelyng. How it may be brought to passe, that no man haue cause to stele, me thinke I haue eyther shewed it, or elles gyuen occasion to some other to shewe it.

¶ Now that we content our selfes with that, whiche god shal send vs, or with that, we by our owne industry shall laufully gette, me thynke a greatte parte lyeth in the prelates of the Churche. They muste begynne, thother can not leade this daunce. If religious men begyn, laye people wyll folowe, as soone as they shall haue lerned wel the fotynge of it. Religion toke a great falle, honestie was sore wounded, that daye that richesse entred into theyr hartes, handes I wolde say, whom Christ left for to declare bothe in worde and lyfe, what rewarde they were sure of, that here for his sake wolde refuse rychesse. It is noo meruayle, if a tapster or a wyne drawer, recken a peny or two more than his duetie, whan they see religious menne soo imbrace money. Lette the poore laye people here them say, and lye not, God is our portion, God is our lãdes, Our conuersation is in heuen, They wyll vndoutedly take pouertie for noo suche thynge, that they shulde sooner consent to the disturbaunce of theyr coun=

countreye, then to be poore. I haue longe sought, and can in maner fynde no cause of our pouertie, but the fertilite and welthynes of our countrey. Other men, that are borne in bare countreys, and can not lyue, onles they moche trauayle the world, auoyde myserie by their great labour and toyle. In Englande the grounde almoste nourisheth vs alone. It is an incredible thynge, to see howe sore men of other nations labour, howe moch we play, howe lytle they consume on their belyes, howe moche we deuoure, howe poore they be, and how welthy we are, welthy I saye in comparison of them. God hath gyuen vs to good a countrey, we maye here to many of vs lyue ydle. In many places of Germany, people are fayne to set theyr trees, that they vse for theyr fewel. They sowe corne on mountaynes, where neyther horse nor plowe can come, They plowe with mattockes, and harrowe with spades. Howe moche grounde is lost in Englande? Howe moche corne myght we carie into other coũtreyes, if we wolde vse the commodities of our realme? Howe manye hethes be there, that wolde beare other frutis, than shrubbes, brakes, bromes, and ferne, if they were welle handeled? howe many cities are decayed, howe many townes, that are nowe hamlettis, quyte downe, that wolde stande, if the thirde parte of Englande dyd not lyue idelly? Townes wolde vp ageyne, yf craftes were set vp. There is fewe nations, but many be ydell, yet I thinke there is not two of the greatest nations in christendome, that hath halfe so many, that liue with-

without craftes, as lytle England hath. In Frãce ye shal see many men drawe cartis about the citie, laden with fagottes, and suche other small wode. In Italy, there is no man so ryche, but he trauaileth in marchandise. Dukes that are there in kynges places, occuppe marchãdyse. And yet are fain to kepe small howses. I wyll not compare our comynaltie with theirs. I wyl not handel this place as I mighte. This I am sure, we that haue bene there, haue sayde ones a weke, God saue the welthy comynaltie of England. I wyl not cõpare our kepyng of houses with theirs, where frogges be a dayntie dysshe, snayles, a morsell for a lady, where mushrumpes stande for the seconde course. Ye wolde thynke it a madde syght, to see a quarter of a goose runne rounde for burnynge, the reste powdered and kepte in stoore for holydays. I am assured, the fare in Uenys is as good, as is in the moste partes of Italie. Uenys is as bygge, or very lyttell lesse, than London with the suburbes: yet is there more flesshe spent in two or thre monethes in London, than is there in a yere. We haue to many sawces, to many showynge hornes to drawe in meate. we knowe full lytel what we do, that make as though we cared not, who ruled in Englande. If a foreyne prince hadde the gouernynge of vs a whyle, thynke you, we shulde not be farre dysceyued, if we loked to lyue, as we nowe lyue, to do as we nowe do? Thynke you Daces wold not come in? ye knowe not what daces be, no dates I warrant you? I pray god ye neuer knowe them. This

I am

I am ſure, as longe as oure mooſte gracyouſe prince, kynge HENRY the. VIII, reygnethe ouer vs, whiche I praye god it be, vntylle his heires be of age, we ſhall nede feare no daces. They began properly to ſparſe pretye rumours in the North, that no man ſhulde eate whyte breade, no man eate pygge, goſe, or capon, without he agreed before with the kynge. They well bothe declared their malyce, and howe lyteil they had to lay againſte the kynges grace, whiche were compelled ſhamefully to fayne, ſuche abhomynable lyes ageynſt his highnes. The kyng entendeth no ſuche thynge. Wolde god bothe his grace wolde goo about to gette vs a better name in ſtraunge countreys, and we alſo content our ſelfes to haue it. we be called, I wote where, engliſhe bealyes. Who can not but be ſorie, to ſe a man bye ſo dere ſo many hurtes, as come of to moch meate? Who knoweth not, that the englyſhe ſwette, no olde ſyckues, and twenty other diſeaſes more, come euery day of inordinate feedynge? Memorye, wytte, ye the verye mynde, whiche is immortall, almoſte is ſlayn with ſurfettis. The eyes, chaunge their colour, where they ſhulde be dyre, they falle to droppynge, theyr ſyght departeth. The eares ware dull of herynge, to be ſhorte, all the ſenſes be drowned with drinke, and cloyed with to moche feedyng. where as the belye is greatter than all the body beſyde, where the bealy raigneth, dothe not all honeſte craftes, all good inuentions want! what countrey hath inuẽted fewer thynges than Englande? Be our wittes

worse than other mens be? No no, there is no faut but ours, that wyll haue them no better. Is it not a shame, that we can not be as discrete, as wyse, as the brute beastes are? Doo they drynke, but whan they are a thurste? Do they eate, but when they be hungrye? when dyd any man see a beast dye of a surfette? Men are some tyme in the faute, that bestes dye of drynkyng, they being to hote after their labour. Put a beast at lybertie, lette hym be at his owne fedynge, it wyll be long or he hurt hym selfe eyther by eatyng or drinking: Amonges vs, what syckenes killeth so many, as meate and drynke? what pestylēce ryddeth more than sustenance? Besydes ỹ, for the more part pestilēce cometh of outragious dyet, and doth lytel hurt, where mē can moderate their mouthes. Bibbers wil be offended with hym, that shal go about to make them lyue better, to make them lyue longer, to make them rycher, to tourne theyr drynkyng money into stuffe of houshold. They enuye the duchemen, that drynke deper than they, why doo they not enuye the moyles aswell, that drynke as moche as duchemenne, and yet fall not vnder the maunger, as they do vnder the bourde? We haue lost bothe the good thynges, that antiquitie vsed, and chaunged also the names of theym that we haue. He is called a louer, that doth al he may, to make an honest womā naught. If her louer entend to take away her honestie, her good name, what shall he do that hateth her? Euen so we call that good fare, that doth vs moost hurt, and that euyl chere, that doth vs most good.

A

I thynke he ſuppeth euyll, that for his good ſup-
per kepeth his bedde a ſeuen nyght after. You wyl
thynke I knowe London well, that make this of-
fer vnto you. Blyndefelde me, carye me after to
what place ye woll, I wyl lyttell fayle, to tel where
ye ſet me, and before whoſe dooꝛe. They that know
not my cunnynge, wyll ſkace beleue me. I prayе
you can ye ſet me in any place, but I may ſay, and
lye lyttell, I am nowe before a Tauerne oꝛ an ale
howſe? Fayle I maye, but farre I can not fayle.
In Italy it is all moſte as moche ſhame foꝛ an ho-
neſt man to come out of a tauerne betwene meles,
as it is heꝛe to come frō the banke. In Venis there
is no moo tauernes, thenne there be innes, neyther
wyne is to be ſolde by the quarte, but in the innes,
bicauſe it becometh none to bye after ſuch faction,
but ſtrangers, & thoſe that can not tary longe in a
place. How moch good myght a few good men do?
a fewe myght ſo begyn to reꝛeſſe this errour, that
there ſhulde nede no lawe to cōpell men to do them
ſelfe good. who was amonge the Romans, but he
myght fynd in his hart to haue fewer dyſches, whā
Manius Curius, beyng dictatour, that is in the
higheſt office, that any man coude beare in Rome,
was contented, not onely to lyue with woꝛtes, but
alſo glad to ſtyꝛre the potte hym ſelfe, and to gyue
Ambaſſadours theyꝛ anſweres as he was kelynge
the potte? We banyſhed the beſt thyng, that euer
was with manne, when frugalitie was dꝛyuen a-
way. we kowe not what welth is in ſmal thinges,
noꝛ yet what ryches is in contented pouertie. Po-

uertye hath ben the inuentrice of all good craftes, and of al other thynges, that eyther gyue ornamẽtes, or bryngc cõmodities vnto mans lyfe. Recken but one good thynge, that a welthy person hath inuẽted, a thousãd euyl I can reherse. Pouertie hath ben the maker of al ryche realmes. What citie had a poorer begynnynge than Rome? what lesse Ryches, then Uenys? What kyng was porer, then the kynge of Portyngale?

¶ Socrates was ared, howe his comon welthe shulde withstand the malice of a rycher, seing that he wolde the communes to haue very lyttell, and thother neuer a deale to mothe. Howe they maye withstande one, sayth he, I nede not telle you, but I am sure, they shalbe good inough to fyght ayẽst two, if they bothe be welthy and ryche ynoughe. Howe so sayethe Adimanthus? Euer sayth Socrates, one poore soudiour, is good inoughe for two ryche in batayle. He is quycke, these are dulle, he leane and lusty, these fatte and foggy, he made to hunger, thurst, and hardenes, these delycate and deed, if they be a nyght or two out of theyr nestes. Howe shall they fyghte well, that ii. or. iii. shildes woll skace couer theyr belyes?

¶ Who wyll beleue, that Scipio so worthy a capitayn of the Romayns, could leue his doughters nothyng to theyr mariages, but the comune welth layne to gyue them their dowries? what Romaine coulde thinke pouertie to be refused, whan so noble a manne was contente with it? I can not tarye in exãples. Cincinnatus, Fabricius, and many other

I must

I muste not speake of. It is skace credyble, that Plutarche wrytethe of a capitayne of the Lacedemonians. Euermore whan this wente to warfare, they were fayne to gyue hym money out of the comune hutche, to bye hym botis and showes. what souldiour coulde thinke hym selfe poore, when he sawe his cappytayne haue so lytel? They were contented, with suche extreme pouertie: and doo we thynke it laufull, because we be not so ryche as we wold be, to ryse ayenst our prince? & this our prince so louyng, so lerned, so made of nature to a kyngdom, so endued of god with all such princely ꝺtues, as are to beautifie a comon welth? coude we, if we knewe what we dyd, go agaynst kynge HENRY the VIII, of whom I wyll say nothynge but this, that his gracis fame and prayse, can not falle, but when all good letters fall, which can not be before men leaue the erthe, and the erth men. I wyll saye nothyng of myn owne. Al be it me thynke it moch apperteyneth to hym, that wyll handel this mater well, bothe to shewe, howe moche Englande is bound to loue his grace, and howe moch we ought to hate all them, that wolde his grace any euyll: But I wyll let Erasmus, the greatteste lerned man of our tyme, speke for me, Harke what he sayth of our kynge.

¶ VVHAT REGION of this world is there, but it may reioise at the high felicitie of England, if it loue Englande? what nation, but it may enuy the welthe of Englande, if it loue not Englande? Undoubted it is a kynge, that eyther maketh a

a Realme noble, or that obscureth it: with whatte bookes, with howe many sortes of tongues, shall the posteritie testifie, that Englande in all kynd of vertue so flourysshed in kynge Henry the.viii. his tyme, a prince sent of god vnto Englande, whiche may seme but euen nowe to be borne, euen now to be Englande, so clensed of euyll customes and vices, so imbued with all excellent ordinaunces, that Massilia it selfe, may here take example of ciuilytie, soo instituted with Christes faythe, that Rome nowe may come to schole to Englande: soo stuffed with lerned men, that Italye may enuy England, sauynge that enuye hath no place, where good letters reigne: Englande hath a kynge, whiche may be a rule vnto all princis, that hereafter shall gouerne any comune welthe. Good lorde this this in dede is a kyngedome, This is a Princelyke court, that his grace kepethe. I lette passe the greatte gyftes, that god hath endued so abundantly bothe his gracis goodly personage and mynde, which al be it they come of god, rather than of our industry: yet they are hyghely profytable to a comune welth, whā they light on a good price. And although this many yeres, it hath ben smal praise in a prince to be well lerned, yet his hyghnes shall bring it to passe, ꝑ as in time past it hath ben the chiefe ornament of a kynge, to be lerned, soo it shall here after, be iudged hyghe prayse worthy, a kyng to excel in knowlege. His gracis singuler qualities shall declare them but fooles, that are wonte to saye, that noble courage of princely stomake, is moch defaced, moche

che brought downe by lernynge and studye. For what kynge can they brynge forthe, that hath ben without letters, whiche had more dexteritie, in any feate that belongeth to a prince, than his hyghnes hath? so made of nature apte to euery thyng, that in rydynge, shotyng, and suche other common pastimes, there be fewe, that are to be compared with hym. There be fewe kyndes of musyke, but his grace hath a good knowlege in them. Wonderfully well seene in the sciences Mathematycall. who can be more diligenter, in oppressyng vice: he hath dryuen out of his realme, those that lyued by mischiefe, he hath netted his realme of ydle vacabundes. (wold god his grace had done but the one, as welle as he hathe intended to doo bothe) He hath sette vppe good lawes, and abrogated suche as were vnprofitable for his people. who is more prudent in consultation? who can better forsee, that is lyke to chance, than he can? who can be of more actiuitie? and yet in letters, he hath gone so farre, perchaunce not by no great studye, but by the rare quickenes of witte and boūtie of nature, that diuines, ye and those that are amonges them beste lerned, do admire, and hyghely commende the ryght iudgement, that his grace hath in soo many thynges. Then he hath also this vertue, as chiefe of al the rest his mooste princely qualities, that there is none more gentler, to be spoken vnto, none that hath lesse dysdayne, none that hath lesse pryde, the maiestie not withstandynge of a prince, euermore sake and in no poynte diminyshed. The wyttes of

lerned

lerned men, whom his grace hath euermore so no-
tyshed, and hath ornated, wylle not suffre the me-
morie of suche his excellente vertues to decaye by
any proces of tyme. No no bothe the eloquence of
latyn menne and grecians, shall euer testifie, that
there was one kyng Henry the eight in England,
whiche alone had all the ornamentes, that al these
prynces had amenges them, the study and loue to-
ward good letters, ỳ Ptholomeus Philodelphus
had, the good fortune of Alexander Magnus, the
gentle affabilitie, that Philip kynge of the Mace-
dons had, the noble courage of Julius Cesar, the
helthe of Augustus, the clemencye of Traianus,
the integritie of Alexander Seuerus, the lernyng
and knowlege of Marcus Antonius Pius, the re-
ligion of Theodosius, and to make an ende, where
vertues skace letteth me fynd any ende, there was
nothinge allmooste in any of those, whiche thanti-
quitie so highly praiseth, that had any notable qua
litie, but it may be found in this one prince. Thus
sayth Erasmus.

¶ I myght bringe in many places of Ludouicus
Viues, of al them that eyther haue ben lerned them
selfe, or loued lerned men: but Erasmus I thynke
hath sayd ynough, for to make al vs glad of suche
a prince. I wyl say, that I am assured, all the lor-
des of Englande wyl grant me, that if they were
all borne to be right enheritours of the Crowne of
Englande, yet amonges them al, there is not one,
whiche they myght thynke worthy to be kyng, his
grace being alyue, Al be it their title were as good

as

as his gracis is. Nowe when god hath gyuen his highnes only good title, and made him theyr right and natural kyng, and them his Subiectes, what shal we thynke, they ought to do, in defence of his gracis right and honour? They knowe ryght wel, they haue declared their hartis towardes his highnes. The nobles haue well perceyued, as they be the strength of the kynge, so he and his lawes, are their defence and saulfegarde. They know the fal of thone, is the fall of bothe. The dukes, worthy all hye prayse, all honour, all rewarde, haue shewed them selfes, bothe wyse, in seinge their owne hurtes, to be adioyned with the kynges, and faythfull, in defendynge theyr pryncc. The lordes haue done semblable wise. Knyghtes lacked not of their parte. Gentlemen, and briefely al men, haue sene, that sedition, is sooner to be stopped with losse of goodes, great expenses, then that men of one nation, shulde cruelly one kyll an other. The kynges grace, both by his long experience, and also by his knowlege in good letters, wel perceyueth, that the chiefe honour, that a christen prince shulde seke, is the sauynge of his people. His grace knoweth the ende of ciuyle discorde. He knoweth the commodities, that come of concorde and vnitie. In tyme of ciuile dissention, men wander here and there, sure in no place, trustynge no man, suspectyng all thinges, affrayed almoste of their owne shadowe. Cities made for the welthe of thenhabitantes, are the distruction of all, or the moste parte of them, that are within them. Walles made to kepe out ennemyes

myes, kepe vs from flieng our ennemies. Howles, townes, ye hole cities, are hurled oft to the groũd, then foloweth the laſt parte of the playe. Hungre, thyrſte, lacke of lodgynges, lacke of other neceſſaries. All craftes are diſtroyed, or at the leeſt hyndered for a longe ſeaſon: after horſe and oxen, that ſhuld tyll the erthe, are taken away. But the moſt hurte of all is, that we lerne to ſet god and his lawes at nought. what ſhall he thynke vnlaufull, what vnhoneſt, that thynketh he maye weare harnes agaynſt his prynce? ſleye his countreye men? neyghbours? frendes? kynſfolke? ye brothern and ſyſterne? fathers and mothers? Whan Pyrrhus kynge of the Epirotes was ſettyng forthe ageynſt the Romayns, in defence of the Tarentins, Cineas a philoſopher, in moche fauour with hym, aſked Pirrhus what he wold do, whan he had ouercome the Romayns? All Italye ſayth he, ſhortely after ſhal be ours. Wel, whan Italy is vnder you, what wyl you than do? Than we wol ſayle into Secilia. This wonne, whether then? we wol into Spayn. This ouercome, is there any more to doo? Ye then we woll ſet vppon Carthago. Imagine ſayth Cineas, ye haue obteyned this alſo, Haue ye it, that ye deſyre? ye ſayth he, for then, we woll retourne to Epirus againe, and there paſſe the reſt of our life in myrthe and pleaſure. Then I praye you, why maye we not make mery nowe? why be we not afrayed, that ſomwhat chaunce in ſo many warres, that we leſe this, which we foolyſhely ſeke, hauing it in our handes?

Maye

May not I say so vnto ours? Put you the case, as you woll ymagine, you haue the better hande, howe be it, better it is to be kylled, thanne to conquere, fightyng ageynst your prince. Yet imagin, euery thinge go on your side as you desire. Can it chance so well, but many of you muste waple? He that is ouercomme shall wepe, ye say. Trowe you they shall laugh that wynne? Thynke you myzthe can be within theym, that euermoze shall thynke, god hateth them? the woʒld abhoʒreth them? Lette vs agree, lette vs agree, let vs se, what good concoʒde amonges men doth. Concoʒd bʒought them together, that wãdered without places, euer in fere one of thother. Concoʒd made lawes, cõcoʒde builded cities, increased and conserued them. Concoʒd bʒought in all honest craftes. Concoʒde bʒingethe riches, whiche by dissention we seke maddely. In tyme of peace wittes atteyn vnto lernyng, vertue, and wysedome. Concoʒde maketh vs the frendes of god, the inheritours of heuen, parttakers of al the ioyes, that god hath pʒepared foʒ them, he beste loueth. All that feare god, all that loue his fauour, wyl say as I dõ. we woll peace, we woll no dissention, we haue oft sene the good that cometh of ruffynge, the good that cometh of chaungynge. We haue ben some tymes tourned from Bʒytones into Saxons, frõ Saxons into Danes. The Noʒmans haue ben our gouernours. we haue euer chãged foʒ the woʒse. we woll kepe our strength foʒ an other season. we shall haue a better tyme, a woʒse quarell we can not haue, to spende our bloode in.

we

we woll our enemies laughe not at our distructiō. we wol that they be not mery at our calamitie, whi che can not be mery, excepte they see vs sadde. we woll be frendes, God saue Englande as it is, if al Englyshe men say so to, I am sure, God wyll saye Amen.

LONDINI IN AEDIBVS
THOMAE BER-
THELETI REGII IMPRES-
SORIS.

CVM PRIVILEGIO.

